

PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

No. 46

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2d.

Chances of World Conference

PACIFISTS MUST GIVE A LEAD

Great Convention Shows Way

"**M**R. LANSBURY'S visit to Hitler has come as a clarion call of hope to the whole pacifist movement," declared Mr. James H. Hudson in opening the first great convention organized by the Parliamentary Pacifist Group, which took place in Manchester last week-end.

"We must never rest until we see Parliament and the Government willing to try the processes of peace and reconciliation," he continued. "It will be time enough to talk about a new peace party after we have shown capacity and determination in an effort to convert the old."

The full text of the resolutions and amendments adopted appears on page 11.

What Manchester Thinks Today...

From Our Own Correspondents

THERE was a great body of opinion which was utterly unconvinced about the policy of military sanctions or any of its variants, said Mr. Hudson in his opening speech.

It was the present very urgent need of the pacifist movement to give this unconvinced, puzzled, and distressed opinion a definite pacifist basis and a new international hope. If it could, and the enormous convention in Manchester was a sign that it was possible, it would speedily alter the present stupid faith of parties and parliamentary leaders in armed force and futile theories of collective security.

"Not 'Peace at any price' but 'love at all costs'" was the slogan put before 1,500 delegates by Canon H. R. L. Sheppard, who spoke eloquently in support of the first resolution.

WORLD CONFERENCE

The second resolution dealt with the need for a new world conference and the effect of it was to call upon the Government to summon such a conference, or to associate with President Roosevelt in doing so.

In moving this resolution Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P., spoke of the excellent work done by Mr. Lansbury's talk with Herr Hitler, which he considered would probably re-



Mr. James H. Hudson

sult in such a conference coming—and coming soon.

Dr. Salter stressed the importance of bringing every known pacifist influence to bear upon those who would necessarily represent us at that conference, since it was clear that the obstructionist policy that so far had characterized so-called British cooperation was one thing that had to be destroyed if any good purpose was to accrue.

Mr. H. G. McGhee, M.P., said that the imperialistic ownership of colonies had never benefited the common man or the masses.

In speaking to the third resolution, the Rev. Henry Carter referred to the League of Nations as a prematurely born institution, the result of which, he said, was that its composition was both retaliatory and humanitarian, a fact clearly indicated in the Covenant. It was significant that the League's

"ADEQUATE PREPARATION :" WHAT IT MIGHT MEAN

THE importance of the great pacifist conventions the first of which has been held in Manchester and which will be held later in Birmingham and London, is emphasized by the turn of events in the past week in connexion with the initiative taken by George Lansbury in the direction of a world conference specifically called to remove the causes of war.

These and similar efforts, whether by groups or individuals, to impress upon the Government the urgent necessity for the holding of such a conference are important because they are not hampered by the obstructions of prestige-diplomacy. Considerations of the latter kind, however, have clearly been influencing statesmen recently.

best work was done by the "better side of its nature."

The seconder, Mrs. Eleanor Barton, secretary of the Women's Cooperative Guild, emphasized women's responsibility in the cause of peace.

DISARMAMENT "DANGER"

Until Britain made it clear that its foreign policy could no longer go hand-in-hand with a war-mongering spirit, said Lord Arnold, who moved the fourth resolution, we should not make much progress in the cause of peace.

Admitting the risks of a total disarmament policy, Lord Arnold submitted that by comparison they were nothing to the policy we were pursuing at the present time.

Miss Vera Brittain referred to the futility of defence against air attack.

What, she asked, could be done with a man who, like Dr. Guest, openly said that the Government's attitude to air raid casualties was that while an odd thousand or so civilians might be destroyed, at any rate, judged by military standards, the number was a mere trifle.

Conscription formed the subject of the last resolution, and was moved by Mr. Fred Messer, M.P., who said conscription denied every right of conscience. Referring to his first speech in the House of Commons, Mr. Messer said on that occasion he asked who was this enemy against whom we were all arming so feverishly. At that time he had received no reply, nor had he since.

Mr. Cecil H. Wilson, the seconder, recalled the days of the War when a fund existed for the support of the relatives of those who through dictates of conscience were in gaol.

He thought the time had arrived when a fund of like character should be started within the ranks of the present movement.

In closing the convention the chairman lifted it on to a high plane. Pacifism, he said, was pure Christianity. It was "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you."

Though this is not, of course, unnatural if things are left to the orthodox politician who knows of no other way of dealing with international problems, it is all the more necessary for every pacifist to show that the time has come to make sacrifices, politically and individually, for peace.

YOU Can Start Preparing

NO one can complain of Mr. Baldwin's statement in Parliament, on Thursday of last week, that the Government

"would, of course, be willing to participate in a world conference provided that thorough and comprehensive investigation showed that such a conference would be likely to succeed and provided that there had been adequate preparation."

The question is, what form is the preparation to take, and when will it start?

Further answers in the House of Commons on Tuesday revealed the Government's answer. Viscount Cranborne recalled that "his Majesty's Government and the French Government have recently invited the Prime Minister of Belgium to undertake informal inquiries as to the possibility of securing a general relaxation of the obstacles to international trade."

"M. van Zeeland was good enough to accept this invitation and his Majesty's Government are of opinion that the results of his inves-

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tigations should be awaited before the question of summoning a world conference is considered."

In this connexion it is significant that, according to the Brussels correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. Eden, when in Brussels this week, "encouraged M. van Zeeland to go ahead, promising British sympathy and support within the limits compatible with the decisions of the forthcoming Imperial Conference."

OPPORTUNITY TO BE TAKEN

"Imperialism, self-interest, first—peace afterwards," is the instinctive thought of the pessimist. Yet the very fact that the Ottawa agreements—so fruitful of international friction—are unexpectedly to come under review, at the conference in a discussion of the possibilities of freer trade, offers some ground for hope.

As the subject will be prominent on the agenda, it is clearly a point on which pacifists should concentrate, while never losing sight of the main objective—an all-inclusive conference at which the causes of war shall be boldly faced.

Starting NOW, but continuing more intensively when the Imperial Conference opens on May 14, and during the three or four weeks of its work, they can make known by every conceivable means their wish that the Ottawa agreements, as well as similar restrictions on trade, be re-examined with a view to putting an end to the policy of economic nationalism.

There is a really effective opportunity (it can be pointed out in any

Lord Ponsonby utters

"A WORD OF WARNING"

about

TRAINING FOR PEACE

Reflections and Comments

WITH his usual persuasive lucidity Mr. Richard Gregg stated his case in last week's PEACE NEWS in a way that fully explains the large following he now has.

With much that he says in his description of the situation with which pacifists are confronted I find myself in agreement; nor do I in the least want to dissuade or discourage those who are convinced that the methods prescribed by Mr. Gregg are both appropriate and useful for the furtherance of our cause. But in this respect I would utter a word of caution.

Those who embark on a concerted course of self-improvement

(request for such a move) for the Government to act upon its perfectly reasonable claim that there must be adequate preparation before a world conference can be held. Other ways of preparing must also be investigated—and acted upon.

Let YOUR M.P. know your views!

ment will find it so absorbing that they will become impatient of the cruder and more impersonal methods which require sustained effort in political education, propaganda, and organization.

Training to convert yourself into a practical and consistent non-resister and finely altruistic helper of others is a life's work in which no man can dare to claim he is making satisfactory progress without finding he is acquiring the deadly taint of self-righteousness.

I AGREE that our members should fortify themselves against mere bluff and against the fatal temptation "to wilt and yield" when the testing time comes.

I would go so far as to say that thirty unshakable stalwarts are of far more value to us in the P.P.U. than 300 enthusiasts who sign on thoughtlessly after a successful meeting. I even feel concerned at the spectacular success of some of our large, crowded demonstrations.

But I cannot follow Mr. Gregg in his analogy of our training and a soldier's training because even from his point of view there is all the difference in the world between imposed discipline and self-discipline. They spring from different sources, they require different methods, and they produce entirely different results.

Nor can I accept any comparative lesson drawn from the intercourse between individuals and the intercourse between nations. Indeed, what I may call the individualizing of nations is one of the most deceptive and false tricks of the war monger.

International relations, that is to say the relationship between many millions on one side and many millions on the other side, depend on official and governmental consideration of an impersonal character in which the individual relationship is almost entirely absent.

BUT apart from disputable points on minor differences there is a fundamental consideration on which I base the arguments I have put forward.

If training in self-discipline and self-improvement as an example to others is to be encouraged as an inseparable part of a movement the main object of which is the prevention of war, the inference must be drawn that wars between nations are caused by the faulty and undisciplined natures of the people. This is so far from the truth that the mere suggestion of it cuts our main argument from under our feet.

If I thought that irrational

animosity, an unrestrainable combative instinct, and elemental passions on the part of the peoples produced war between nations I should indeed feel hopeless as to there being any prospect of restraining them. But I know there is no truth whatever in any such assumption.

War is caused by political policies distorted by faulty methods of diplomacy and accompanied when the time comes by falsehood, which, directed on the people at home, is as necessary a weapon of war as shot and shell for the enemy.

I THINK, unlike Mr. Gregg, that there is a distinction between folly and sin. Here I speak as a politician.

An opposition charges a government with misguided folly and mistaken principles, not with being on a lower moral level than itself. I would go so far as to say that I know of imperialists and believers in force whose moral integrity and rectitude, and whose self-disciplined lives place them on a higher moral level than some pacifist non-resisters.

I will not dispute that some form of disciplined activity may not be a good thing for the consolidation of our groups but I do not want them to become distracted from the large field of normal work which has to be covered before self-conscious individual betterment is reached. I would say, too, that while cooperation in groups or branches for the furtherance of the specific work of propaganda and organization is excellent and highly desirable, the development of group consciousness in moral and more or less intimate forms is not unlikely to be accompanied in some cases by less desirable elements.

I DO not think I misunderstand Mr. Gregg nor do I think he misunderstands me.

We may stress different factors which go to make up our attack on the war machine and war mentality. But there is room for us both.

I think if we were speaking together on the same platform we should cover the whole of a sympathetic audience, whereas one of us alone might leave some of the audience in doubt. I am anxious that people shall not be duped and he is anxious that they should fortify themselves against being duped.

He regards my method as insufficient. I regard his method as liable to be misleading. But members of the P.P.U. would not expel either of us on that account.

Arthur Ponsonby

WAR IN SPAIN

A Short Account by
F. WHITE

"What I have tried to do," says the author, "is to tell the story of the war as plainly and fairly as I can." The result is an admirably clear account of events as they happened—an account to which numbers of newspaper reports, propaganda pamphlets and documents have contributed. No attempt has been made to give a picture of the war in terms of its folly and cruelty, its waste of heroism and abuse of bravery, but its tragic significance is shown, nevertheless, not only as it affects Spain, but through its echoes in many other countries.

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PACIFISM IN COMMUNAL LIFE

Fate of an Experiment in Germany

BREAK WITH WAR METHOD

Special to PEACE NEWS

A BRAVE endeavour to live a truly Christian life was suppressed last month when the German police raided and took possession of what was perhaps the last stronghold of peace left in the country.

For a very long period the authorities have been making every effort through economic strangulation to compel a small community of Christians, living near Frankfurt, to terminate its work. These methods having so far proved unsuccessful the members were forcibly expelled and the buildings and land taken over for a work-service camp. Most of the members have fled to Holland.

The name of the community is the Rhon Bruderhof and it should be of great interest to pacifists in this country, not only because it represents an attempt to live an absolutely peaceful communal life, but because there is also a similar establishment in this country.

Members came to England about a year ago in order to found a Bruderhof here, in anticipation of such an emergency, and a suitable farm of over 200 acres near Ashton Keynes, Wiltshire, was purchased. Plans were laid for the building up of this place with a view to bringing the whole community eventually to England.

SEEKING A NEW WAY

The movement was founded in the year after the War by a well-known German scholar and writer, Dr. Eberhard Arnold, and arose out of the seeking for an entirely new way of life from that which produced the War. It started in a small way and grew until it now numbers some 200 people of many nationalities.

The basis of the life is an absolute communism of property and work and a total rejection of all forms of coercion.

From the very beginning the venture was made in faith. The community has always been poor both through necessity and on principle and the whole work in England was made possible through the help of friends. The need has always been great. Every penny so far received has been used

for temporary accommodation for a further 35 people, most of whom are women and children. The situation is highly critical.

German Minorities Abroad

THE suggestion that in order to ease the tension in Czechoslovakia the 3,300,000 Germans in the country should be given local autonomy was rejected by Dr. Eltz, a German Czech, speaking at a conference on Czechoslovakia arranged by the New Fabian Research Bureau recently.

Dr. Eltz said that although the problem of these Germans in Czechoslovakia was a question of international importance, local autonomy, if it could be worked successfully—and she did not think it could owing to the distribution of Germans over the country—would considerably strengthen the power of Hitler.

It was not true that the German-speaking districts of Czechoslovakia formerly belonged to Germany and were taken from her by the peace treaties. They belonged to Bohemia and the inhabitants had been living there for centuries and intermarrying with the Czechs.

Dr. Eltz said that the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was doing a splendid work in promoting good feeling between the many nationalities in Czechoslovakia.

Last year they started a colony for children of the unemployed, and had Czechoslovakian, Polish, German, and Jewish children in the camp, and they hoped to keep this little island of internationalism amid a sea of nationalism.

"BAD TREATMENT"

In an article in *Reconciliation* Henri Roser, Secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, says that the contention made by the Hitler Government that the minorities, especially the German minority, are suffering bad treatment at the hands of the Czechoslovakian Government, is ridiculous.

He adds "that from the foundation of the Republic there have always been German ministers in the Government."

Roosevelt to Open Conference

President Roosevelt will address a Round Table Conference for World Peace which will be held in Los Angeles, California, in July.

A similar conference, lasting ten days, will be held in Manchester beginning from May 28, further particulars of which may be obtained from Dayananda, Squirrel Cafe, Deansgate, Manchester.

GANDHI—"GREATEST CHRISTIAN"

"THE greatest Christian of today—if by Christianity we mean the practice of loving kindness—is not a Christian by religion but a Hindu, M. K. Gandhi. Gandhi in his non-militaristic way has touched the core of spiritual reality, we 'Christians' are still wrangling about territories and wars and ideologies."

These words, taken from a Philippine Islands newspaper, are significant in view of India's crisis.

Writing recently to a friend in England, a close acquaintance of Mr. Gandhi referred to the implications of peace as being "vaster than those of violence."

"I know," he continued, "from my own experience, how difficult it is to live up to them."

"Every peace movement has its variety of implications," he added, "and while some things may be quite necessary and suitable for us, they may not suit you. For instance, how

Theory & Practice in Spain

From Our Special Correspondent

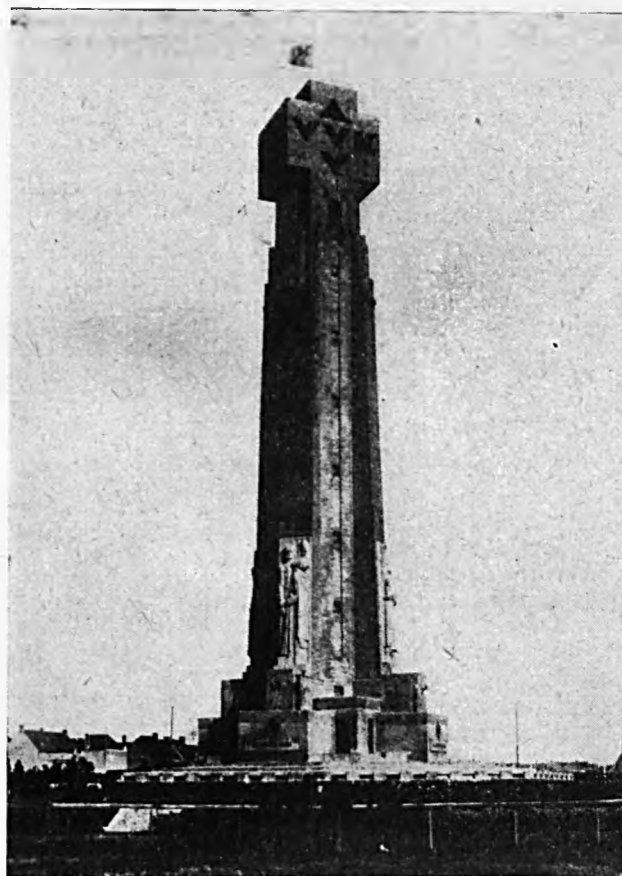
CASTELLON-DE-LA-PLANA.

THE other day I accompanied an inspector of child refugee colonies on a visit to a new hostel. His little son who was with us made a playful attack on me, and I retorted in the same vein with a little shadow-boxing.

The inspector reproached me for teaching the boy something mischievous. Yet within the hour he had described "reprisals" admittedly "adopted" by certain extremists in suppressing the counter-revolution as "justified" by the previous neglect and oppression of the aristocracy.

It was evidently useless to suggest that no "reprisals" are "justified." The incident served to show the necessity of translating such books as Richard Gregg's into all languages.

can your peace volunteers do spinning?"



Courtesy, "World Events"

Ex-Soldiers' "No More War"

THIS 165-feet high Flemish peace shrine, standing near Dixmude in Belgium, was erected in 1930 and is the centre of enormous pilgrimages, generally in August, at which 150,000 or more Flemings congregate.

The inscription at the top reading "A.V.V.V.V.K." stands for the Flemish for "All for Flanders, Flanders for Christ." The monument is also dedicated to peace and international reconciliation.

The words "No More War!" are inscribed in four languages on the base.

and in a large room on the first floor thousands of war medals have been arranged to spell "A Curse on War."

Anti-militarism is strong in Flanders, and the League of Flemish Ex-Soldiers, which has 100,000 members, at its eighteenth congress held in Brussels last month, confirmed its rejection of armed "defence" of the country (reports Persdienst I.A.C.)

The resolution spoke of "measures of civil defence, which deprive an aggressor of all the advantages of his aggression."

No Tariff on Peace

Peace literature from the New History Society of New York is being admitted free of duty by the New Zealand Government.

for buying the farm, stock, and implements and converting old farm buildings into workshops and dwelling apartments capable of housing a large number of people as well as guests and visitors.

At present the young men are sleeping in barns and attics. Now members are faced with the problem of buying or renting sufficient tem-

Headquarters' Notes and Comments

By MAX PLOWMAN

96 Regent Street, W.1.

PACIFISM is not an easy creed.

I have a garden—only a little one, but just big enough to put me securely among the largest section in the British proletariat: the bourgeoisie. The other day one of my neighbours decided to stretch a point. And he succeeded all right. I am convinced that his garden is bigger than it was a year ago; and I do not think the same about my own.

My first reaction to this event was a strong desire to go and push him in the face. Then I recalled an old check upon indignity. I remembered who I was. So it seemed I must write to the ground-landlord; or perhaps get my solicitors to write. Yet in the end I did just nothing. And I am prepared to stand by this action—or rather inaction—though it would take the rest of this column to explain how and why it is often a very good thing that, in this world, justice is not always done.

* * * *

Pacifism is not an easy creed.

When people behave like mean toads, I hate them like the devil. And that's neither virtuous nor vicious; it's just plain human nature; for if you don't hate what's mean, it's certain you don't love what's generous. Where there's no capacity for hatred there's little capacity for love. So let's save ourselves from cant and hypocrisy by confessing our honest hatreds whenever we feel them. And I confess to being very far from "loving my brother whom I have seen" only too closely. In fact I think he's a mean, snivelling little toad.

* * * *

Pacifism is not an easy creed.

Better that I should go to war with my too neighbourly neighbour than that I should "nurse unacted desires" through all the sunny hours of an English summer. Better go to the House of Lords over a piece of ground worth a shilling than daily poison myself with a sense of injustice, venting my spleen on every caller who will listen to a slanderous tale. But, better than both, to have the wit to imagine those events in my neighbour's past life which have made him feel he simply must have a little more than his due in order to make life worth living. And that's after all not very difficult. Come to think of it, I myself am not at all un-partial to the receipt of more than my due in esteem, flattery, honour, and affection. And please don't ask if I am always perfectly scrupulous in my ways of "winning" these things.

Thus I perceive that my neighbour's act becomes less offensive when I see it with the eye of sympathy. And when I look upon the Empire On Which the Sun Never Sets, then the brawling German demand for a colony begins to lose some of its outrageous offensiveness. *Tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner.*

But, as I said, pacifism is not an easy creed.

GROUP NOTES

By JOHN BARCLAY

FOLLOWING up our recent visit to South Wales I am glad to say we have arranged a conference to meet the local pacifist leaders. By the time you read this it will have met and I hope to give some account next week of the discussion which has taken place.

Meanwhile, here is the full list of groups in the area we covered:—

Aberdare. Glyn Griffiths, 4 Harriet Street, Trecynon, Aberdare.

Abertillery. Miss G. Marson, 134 Richmond Road, Abertillery.

Barry. Rev. R. G. Wilkinson, 19 Bron Awelon, Barry.

Bridgend. Glyn Howe, Rockleigh, St. Bride's Major, Bridgend.

Briton Ferry. T. Trevor Evans, Earlsden, Shelone Road, Briton Ferry.

Bryn Mawr. Rev. F. B. Hankinson, Methodist Manse, Bryn Mawr, Brecon.

Caerphilly. Miss D. M. Roberts, Rosslyn, Brookfield Terrace, Caerphilly.

Cardiff. Dr. Cecilia Pugh, 11 Cambourne Avenue, Whitechurch, Cardiff.

Cardiff (University). R. Cleaves, University College Union, 51 Park Place, Cardiff.

Carmarthen. Rev. D. J. Williams, Penllwyn, Penllwyn Park, Carmarthen.

Ebbw Vale. R. C. Morris, 6 Valley Road, Ebbw Vale.

Ferndale. D. Jones, 9 Trefecca Road, Talgarth.

Llanelli. D. E. Williams, Cwm-llethryd, Pontyberen, Llanelli.

Mountain Ash. Rev. J. Phillips, Maes Caradoc, Aberffwd.

Neath. Christopher Way, 37 Hillside, Neath.

Newport. Percy Fellowes, 20 Gaer Park, Newport.

Penarth. Rev. S. H. Dixon, 1 Victoria Avenue, Penarth.

Pontypool. Trevor Griffiths, Bryn-y-coed, Usk Road, Pontypool.

Pontypridd. Miss Wynne Davies, La Barabanclore, The Common, Pontypridd.

Port Talbot. Rev. Grynfa Jones, Port Talbot, via Aberavon.

Lower Rhondda. Will Ray, 3 Blandon Street, Williamstown, Rhondda.

Mid Rhondda. L. Ray, 3 Blanch Street, Penygraig, Rhondda.

Upper Rhondda. G. Elias, 14 Margaret Street, Pentre.

Sketty. W. B. Gallie, 3 Sketty Park Drive, Sketty.

Swansea. E. Alan Williams, 11 Son-ger-y-coed, Cwmgwyn, Sketty.

Talgarth. Dan Jones, 9 Trefecca Road, Talgarth.

I suggest that to make the fullest use of this list:—

1. All secretaries should make written contact with all the others, giving a brief account of the activities and plans of their group.

2. Neighbouring groups should make personal contact and aim at direct cooperation.

3. All unattached pacifists should immediately write to the nearest group leader offering their services. Act now and on your own initiative!

Some weeks ago I attended the inaugural meeting of the **Kentish Town** group. It was a very small meeting in numbers but large in faith and obviously well led.

The results have been nothing short of extraordinary. Within a very short time the group has adopted methods which have brought itself into contact with a large number of people in the neighbourhood and is steadily increasing its scope.

They have a regular team whose job it is to visit signatories; newsagents have been canvassed for selling PEACE NEWS, four of whom have agreed to this; two churches have been canvassed and leaflets distributed; they are selling PEACE NEWS

The Notice Board

See also Group Notes

Volunteers who can carry poster boards in parades around London main line stations, May 13—15, please get in touch with P.P.U. Headquarters.

The P.P.U. office is open for voluntary workers until 8 o'clock on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Fridays, but not Wednesdays as announced last week.

WORK AND PLAY FOR PEACE

Root of War Problem

From Our Own Correspondents

The week from July 30 to August 6 is sure to be blessed with fine weather this year, for then the Peace Pledge Union will be holding its camp at The Hayes, Swanwick, Derbyshire.

Ample opportunities will be available for boating, bathing, and so on, the more serious side not being neglected. If you can get away for the week, go and stay with your fellow-P.P.U.-ites at the camp—but please let headquarters know as soon as possible.

The cost will be 35s. for the week, and proportionately less for shorter periods.

The **Chesterfield** group of the P.P.U. is working in close harmony with the local youth group of the League of Nations Union, and last week members of each organization visited a meeting held by the other. **Salford** group held its first meeting recently, and decided to hold a big public meeting in the autumn.

ARMS TRADE DEMAND

As a step toward the "progressive reduction and eventual total abolition" of armaments, the immediate necessity of taking over the control of their manufacture and sale was urged upon the Government in a resolution which the **Alton** (Hampshire) group passed and forwarded to the local M.P. recently.

Mr. J. Allen Skinner, former chairman of the No More War Movement, was the speaker at a public meeting recently held by the **Notting Hill** group. The root of the war problem, he believed, lay in the economic system.

Turning to the future, Mr. Skinner said he felt that the P.P.U. was on the right lines and that it was more than possible that the saving of the situation might lie with those whom the world called "extremists."

and distributing pamphlets outside underground stations and are supplying volunteers for the coronation week campaign in London. Altogether a very fine start. Will anyone in the neighbourhood wishing to help get in touch with Jack Brown, 23 Gillies Street, N.W.5.

Another group which has made great progress from a small start is that of **Tonbridge** which reports great activity and steady growth. They meet every Wednesday evening and have arranged a series of discussion meetings which have been most successful.

Among other activities of a social nature has been a social and dance on Wednesday, April 21, in order to raise funds. Anyone who would help should get in touch with Christine P. Sly, 2 Manor Grove, Tonbridge.

Ideas for Action

By DAVID SPRECKLEY

A FEW weeks ago I asked for suggestions to add to my list—and there was no response. Surely some groups must have had some original ideas. If so, will you please let me have them. And will everyone please help me now to think out more methods of putting our case before the public.

We are all together in this P.P.U., working out our schemes as we go along; so don't sit back and expect headquarters to tell you what to do all the time! Please keep sending me along your ideas, however crazy you may think them.

We must always bear in mind in our propaganda work that our object is not just to make people accept what we say and then join us forthwith. It is not for us to ram home our convictions on other people. We must aim at so presenting our case that it causes people to **think it out in their own minds**. This is the way to make true and individual pacifists.

Suggestion 12.

This suggestion is already being carried out by the majority of our groups—writing to the local press. On every possible occasion the local press should be bombarded with letters, answers to letters, notices of meetings, etc.

Even where the chances seemed quite hopeless, local papers have accepted our notices after having refused for weeks. So keep on and on, and help to add to the pile of press cuttings which keep flooding our office.

Suggestion 13.

A dance or social of any kind could be organized in aid of the Spanish Relief Fund, or for local P.P.U. funds. And groups might run their own social evenings so that members could get to know each other better.

There is no need for us always to meet "in solemn conclave"; and a few such parties might serve to bring in some of the less active group members!

Suggestion 14.

Some ladies tell me they think better when they are knitting. So couldn't they do some of this "manual labour for pacifism" at our meetings?

The results could go to Spain or wherever there was local distress. Not being a knitter, I'm a little diffident about this suggestion.

SHARE WORLD'S PRODUCTS

Reigate and District P.P.U. group, supported by the F.O.R., and Society of Friends, made its public debut at a well-attended meeting recently.

Vera Brittain stressed the absurd inadequacy of air raid "precautions." She urged the women present to make a determined stand for peace, on behalf of the children of this and other lands.

Canon Stuart Morris advocated putting colonies on an international basis instead of regarding them as national preserves, and making it possible, through freer trade and so on, for all nations to share in the world's products.

Strip Tattoos of War Glamour

YORKSHIRE PACIFISTS SHOW THE WAY

Suppressed Speech Told The Truth

Special to PEACE NEWS

An intensive campaign to expose the dangerous sham of military tattoos and to show the real nature of modern war is being undertaken by pacifists and others in Leeds, where the Northern Command Tattoo is to be held in July.

The Leeds Anti-Tattoo Committee (of which all the officers are members of the Peace Pledge Union), a body supported by many local peace and other organizations, is planning

A press manifesto;

Door-to-door distribution, covering the whole of Leeds, of 100,000 copies of a leaflet;

Sale of 5,000 of each of two special pamphlets;

Poster parades on the night of the tattoo;

Cooperation with churches, &c., to point out harmful effects of tattoos;

A watch on any move by military authorities to arrange visits of school-children to the tattoo and, if such attempt is made, to organize public opposition to it.

The leaflets which are to be distributed remind people that "Tattoos show life but war means death."

In addition the Northern Friends' Peace Board has been approached with a request to consider issuing specially appropriate posters to all wayside notice boards throughout Yorkshire during the month before the tattoo.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

By means of providing a stimulus to thought—the very thing which can counteract the glorification of militarism—the two special pamphlets should prove of considerable value.

One of them contains extracts from a lecture given by Coy.-Sergeant-Major Franklin, M.C., to an Officers' Training Corps in July, 1918. Copies of this speech subsequently distributed among members of the corps were later withdrawn at the command of a "superior authority."

The lecturer's eloquent discourse on "the spirit of the bayonet," in which he dilated on the details of the art of using that weapon will disabuse anyone who sees war through the rose-tinted spectacles of a military tattoo.

In the other pamphlet, *Tattoo Exposed*, Wilfred Wellock concisely gives the "case for the opposition." Arthur Wragg's cartoon entitled *Tattoo* provides an arresting cover.

OTHERS, PLEASE COPY

Pacifists in other parts of the country where tattoos are held who may wish to obtain particulars can do so on application to Denis Riley, 13 Beech Avenue, Horsforth, near Leeds.

P.P.U. Ramble, May 12
from Chingford to High Beech and Theydon Bois

Ramblers should meet at Liverpool Street, corner of Old Broad Street, and should communicate with R. H. Pownall, 84 Albert Road, Dalston, E. 8, to assist in making necessary arrangements for tea.
Please also state whether joining party at Liverpool Street or Chingford.

Pacifists Confer on Cooperation

Building a New England

From Our Own Correspondent

PACIFISTS were strongly in evidence at a conference on "Building a New England" held at Bath last week-end, where the underlying ideas of constructive pacifism were under discussion.

A graphic appeal for help for the distressed areas was made on Sunday by Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P., when national affairs, looked at from the point of view of voluntary cooperative endeavour, were discussed. He mentioned a place in Lancashire where 82 percent of the registered workers had been unemployed for seven years on end.

Stressing the principles which should underlie a cooperative commonwealth, Mr. J. Howard Whitehouse referred to the educational aspects.

John S. Hoyland, who gave an illuminating account of various cooperative schemes among the unemployed, described them as some of the most hopeful happenings of the present time.

A paper by J. Middleton Murry, who was unable to attend on account of being involved in a motor accident, was read by Professor Scott.

COORDINATION

A coordinating committee was formed in the evening with a view to securing cooperation between the various voluntary schemes where this was possible.

On Saturday afternoon short addresses were delivered on a variety of cooperative enterprises by B. H. Nixon, Ernest Bairstow, Eberhard Arnold, Nellie Shaw, Professor Scott, J. Theodore Harris, Douglas H. Lamb, and E. W. Mundy.

A pamphlet reporting the conference at some length will be published in due course. It will be obtainable from Mrs. Tanner, The Cottage, Lyncombe Vale, Bath.

'War Preparations': Youth Warns Government

SOCIAL JUSTICE CAMPAIGN

"DEEP concern" at the "re-armament" programme as announced by the Government, and at the course it was already taking, was expressed in a resolution adopted at the third National Assembly of British Youth Organizations held in Manchester last week-end, at which young delegates from all parts of England were present.

The British Youth Peace Assembly went on to remind the Government "that a large section of British youth grouped within its organizations would not give its support in such measures of preparation for war as the Government considered its present foreign policy rendered necessary."

Considerable time was devoted by the assembly to consideration of reports, issued by the "Youth Charter" Group, on the position of youth in industry, and in relation to unemployment, delinquency, agriculture, health, education, and trades unions.

A resolution was carried adopting the campaign for a "Charter for Youth" as part of the national policy of the assembly, and the executive committee was authorized to publish a first draft of the "Charter" when experts have finished working on it.

It is hoped that in its final form the "Charter" will be approved at the next national assembly.

Learn What Others Think

AN idea which, if adopted on an extensive scale, would do much to remove misunderstandings between nations, has been adopted by the Hampstead Youth Group of the League of Nations Union.

Among the group's activities is a fortnightly discussion on foreign affairs. Invaluable as this exchange of thought is, members believe in action too and are arranging to extend their hospitality to one or two foreigners during the summer.

They believe that it is by international exchange of thought that best progress will be made toward world peace.

Artists' Congress Banned

THE organizers of the First British Artists' Congress Exhibition have been requested by the agents of the Duke of Westminster, the superior landlord of the premises in Grosvenor Square where the exhibition was to be held, not to hold a dance or congress there.

The exhibition dealt with

peace, democracy, and cultural development, and (as reported in PEACE NEWS last week) includes specimens of the work of the Peace Publicity Bureau and of peace propaganda of 1914-18.

As a result of the ban the congress has been moved to Conway Hall, and the dance will be held in Baker Street.

'PRECAUTIONS' AGAINST AIR RAIDS

—Or A Real Peace Policy?

"THE wealthier you are the more protection you can get," said Mr. J. D. Bernal at a consultative conference on "Air Raid Precautions and Civilian Defence" held in Besant Hall, London, on Saturday and Sunday.

He was speaking in the first session (presided over by Mr. Thomas Southall) which was devoted to the Government's schemes themselves, the object of which he said was threefold:

1. To create a military mentality;
2. To justify rearmament; and
3. To get the whole population under military control.

The air raid wardens who were to be recruited in connexion with the schemes he described as "an army of 500,000 with considerable potentialities for fascism." But apart from that the schemes were utterly inadequate and, as a result, unfair to the poor, since what was proposed was practicable in the main only for those who were well housed.

The Peace Pledge Union, National Peace Council, and Union of Democratic Control, the joint organizers of the conference, had tried to get Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd, M.P., or an official from his department to defend the schemes, but the Air Raid Precautions Department regretted it was impracticable to send a speaker.

The local (Marylebone) Air Raid Precautions Officer, Major Stevens, suggested that before people criticized they should attend the lectures on air raid "precautions" that were given in their localities.

The scientific objections to the plans were further demonstrated by a number of lantern slides shown in the evening and some of the Cambridge scientists described their experiments.

Objections from the points of view of civil liberties and the layman were stated at the Sunday morning session by Mr. Ronald Kidd and Mr. Ritchie Calder respectively.

FUTURE ACTIVITY

Led by Councillor Mrs. Goodrich the conference then got down to future activities. These she summed up as follows:—

1. Permanent committees—central and local, asking for more and more precautions till their impossibility is realized, and so our foreign policy has to be changed.

2. See that the Government itself is reached and that the local authorities have to approach the Government.

As Mr. Bernal pointed out in his summing up, the conference was divided as to whether it should have nothing whatever to do with air raid "defence" or whether it should demand better "precautions." Nevertheless, it managed to pass two resolutions the texts of which appear on page seven.

On Sunday afternoon there was a demonstration in Trafalgar Square at which the speakers included Miss Dorothy Woodman, Mr. Reginald Stamp, Mr. David Freeman, Mr. H. Allan Smith and Mr. John Barclay.

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The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union
Taking the Constructive Pacifist Position, but providing news,
information and an open forum
Serving all who are working for Peace

May 1, 1937

WHERE'S PEACE?

MAY 1. What does this date suggest to the mind of the traditional freedom-loving Englishman? Merrie England. May Day Revels. Nature's rejuvenation participated in by man. A day of gladness, of fresh hope, and new faith.

The only vision of hope for frantic Europe that has appeared on the horizon during the past month has been the visit of George Lansbury to Hitler. The most representative figure in British socialism, to whom increase of years has brought no diminution of courage, decided that the question of rearmament had become so grave a menace to British liberty that it behoved somebody to take the bull by the horns. Since Germany was the prime cause of panic-arming in this country, to Germany Mr. Lansbury went. And since in Hitler all power has been vested by the German people, to the head of German power Mr. Lansbury addressed himself, determined to discover whether a square deal on the very real economic problem that has faced Germany ever since the Peace Treaty was what Germany was actually wanting.

Could any constructive effort for peace be better worth making? The World Conference on Economic Problems is the only rational method of approach to the heart of international difficulty now threatening the peace of the world. Surely this way of approaching the problem appeals to every intelligent socialist? Alas, the mind of the doctrinaire communist has unfortunately become impervious to all argument but the logic of force. So the communist press in this country presents Mr. Lansbury to its readers as a child being led up the fascist garden path. That is what taking the bull by the horns looks like to the fear-obsessed! Obsessed by foreign models of government, arguing from feudal Spain and pre-feudal Russia, our friends on the extreme Left can only see the future in terms of red revolution and black reaction.

Right between those on the Right and those on the Left (both of whom discover war to be the only solution of the present impasse) stands the whole pacifist movement, which insists that men shall assert themselves as human beings, by word and deed, before they even discuss forms of government. We deny the necessity for civil war in this country, either to resist fascism or to bring communism into England. We demand to know the causes of war. We insist that if sacrifices for peace are required of us, personally and nationally, then we are ready to make sacrifices. We affirm that the way to socialism in this country is not by way of the barricades whereat the armoury of capitalism shall be turned upon those who haven't the means to arm themselves. We believe that the simple determination of the people as a whole to resist war on any ground whatsoever will bring the necessary pressure upon the govern-

The Makings of the War Mind

Its Cause and Cure

3

I HAVE named lack of thought and lack of imagination as ingredients in the making of the war mind. The two are related, but they are not the same. Lack of thought is related to a very general inability or indifference to face facts as they are, or to steer a reasonable course from past experience. Lack of imagination is far more related to an inability to foresee what will come about in the future, as the result of men's thoughts and actions in the world today.

Lack of thought is conspicuous in the extraordinary inability of the average mind to recognize, from the lessons of the past and from the conditions of the present, the increasing futility of war, together with its increasing inevitability while the present

ment and compel statesmen to do the very thing George Lansbury stands for—get down to the frank and open confession of the causes of international rivalry and thus make possible the removal of those causes.

The point about this World Economic Conference is that, sooner or later, its absolute necessity will be inevitably realized. Historically speaking, it has got to come. The only question is: How soon will the nations realize this? At present, the die-hard super-patriot on the Right would like to torpedo the idea because the conveners of such a Conference would be obliged to ask awkward questions about exploitation—questions he would rather not hear breathed. On the other hand the doctrinaire communist of the Left would like to torpedo this ship of peace because, in running the blockade of war, it does not dip its flag to Russian communism; and the communist party does not recognize Potato Lansburys. But British democracy will know that there is no hope for the world if Left and Right are permitted to make a Madrid of all Europe. Our democracy has its own genius for compromise; and a World Economic Conference, which would include both communist and fascist powers is, to our thinking, a true expression of that genius. What is then imperative is that we should demand this Conference and see to it that we are not fobbed off with evasive promises. The world's wealth cannot lie indefinitely at the mercy of those who show the greatest aptitude for grabbing it: there must be some principle of ratio between human necessity and human productivity. To discover it is the business of a World Economic Conference. Any agreement would be an enormous step to the avoidance of war; for it would give Europe the peace it missed at Versailles.

Oblivious of the consequences of rearmament in this country, communist orators in Hyde Park will this day be preaching the Spanish war as the way to peace. This we make bold to say is the unconscious exploitation of a neighbour's tragedy to hide political poverty and incompetence at home. It is a course in which, no pacifist can cooperate. That is why we shall be absent from Hyde Park. The problem of Europe will not be solved by the automatic use of the Marxian dialectic. That is the way of abstraction which merely produces hot heads and splits classes and nations into implacable enemies. Let England find a better way. She can do it alone through pacifism.

LACK OF IMAGINATION

international system is accepted as workable, or as leading to anything but inevitable renewal of war on a larger and more destructive scale, and to more useless results than ever before. Lack of imagination rather shows itself in a state of mind which is absolutely unable to foresee the character of the future from premises which it now accepts, and in forming its present policies adopts a disastrous hand-to-mouth attitude, which only prepares the ground for future disaster and ruin.

A conspicuous example of lack of imagination is presented to us in the Peace of Versailles, which was based almost entirely upon a short-sighted desire for retribution and vengeance, coupled with a dishonest refusal to recognize that the guilt of the War was shared, though not necessarily in equal measure, not only by the vanquished, but by the victors.

No intelligent student of history can any longer doubt that had a more pacific and more visionary mind gone to the shaping of the peace of Versailles, the condition of world peace would not today be as distressful and dangerous as it is, mainly owing to the terms of a dictated peace, the dictation of which was in itself a breach of the terms upon which Germany laid down her arms. And with so flagrant an example of the consequences of the war mind, exercising itself in a position of unlimited power, it is surely mere obtuseness and lack of thought, or of imagination, which prevents anyone today from recognizing that the peace mind would have brought about a better world than that which the war mind has bequeathed to us.

But to leave the particular for the general. The mere fact that a nation, which has made military preparation for war in the last resort, is aware that it has that instrument at its hand, and that it is prepared if it thinks necessary to use it, must inevitably have a far-reaching effect upon its international policy and upon the minds of its diplomatists. That is sufficiently recognized in the terms of the Kellogg Pact which (though in practice a failure) does definitely lay down the proposition that nations in their negotiations are not to make ultimate war a guiding element in their policy. As long as nations hold arms and believe in arms, it is impossible that they should eliminate from the diplomatic mind the idea of ultimate reliance upon armed force. I merely quote the terms of the pact as a definite recognition that reliance upon war as an ultimate resort is bound to have an effect upon international negotiations. The Kellogg Pact tried to be rid of it, but failed.

But belief in war as an ultimate solution of international disputes has this further drawback. It makes the mind stupid and lazy; for if you reserve to yourself the right to settle a dispute by violence, believing yourself to be the stronger, you will not take the same pains to look impartially, or considerately, at the other side of the question; nor will you have so open a mind toward the case of your opponent as you would have if you were determined that, at all costs, violence must be avoided, because

By
**LAURENCE
HOUSMAN**

violence can do no good.

The mere fact that you have made great sacrifices and expended vast sums in armament and in preparation to resist by force the claims of another nation, inevitably leaves in the mind the feeling that such expenditure would be foolish and wasteful unless you are prepared to use it to your own advantage, if such a way out seemed advantageous, or at least to threaten the use of it when disputes arose between you and some other nation. If that intentional threat lies at the back of your diplomacy, your diplomacy is inevitably coloured and vitiated by that ingredient of belief in force as the ultimate effective solution of the difficulty, should you be unable to get your way by a more reasonable or more conciliatory method.

Again, the war mind, because it believes war necessary, prefers not to think too much about the failures of war to achieve its proposed results. It prefers to say "If we had not gone to war, things would have been worse." It is also somewhat dishonestly reluctant to go into the real causes of war. Believing war to be a necessity, it accepts the statements of its government at their face value, and even considers that it is unpatriotic to allow its government's diplomacy or motives to be questioned when once war has been started, or even after it is over.

Believing war to be the only ultimate instrument for the safeguarding of a nation's power and prosperity, it continues to cultivate a contented, or at any rate a resigned, acceptance of the horrible and futile thing, by the avoidance of hard thinking. Close inquiry into the results and causes of war will never seem so all-important to a mind which believes war to be unavoidable as it will to those who believe that war can be avoided, and by the help of thought and imagination, eventually abolished.

That laziness of mind and refusal to think is a very prevalent element of the war mind, and is, to a large extent, wilful. Lack of imagination, which is another of the contributing elements of war, is not so much wilful as a mental and spiritual defect. There were many expert minds and clever thinkers gathered at Versailles; but the blunders into which they fell were not so much the blunders of laziness or lack of thought. Any amount of thought carried the future peace of the world headlong into destruction. It was definitely because these clever minds clung obstinately to an old school of thought—which had again and again failed to bring peace or security—that they had not room in their minds for that higher line of thought which is imagination. The Treaty of Versailles is a monument to the unimaginativeness of very clever minds; and though we have that example stark staring before us, with all its resultant failures, those very clever minds remain for the most part as unimaginative as ever, and are preparing to land us in similar and more disastrous failure.

And the reason for that terrible lack in the equipment of those clever minds is, I believe, that imagination is a spiritual gift, working for the realization of things spiritual; and war is not, and never can be, either in its operation or its results, a spiritual thing.

A Weekly Commentary

UNPRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

TO see the signatures of George Lansbury and Lord Trenchard together at the end of a letter to *The Times* opposing military sanctions was curious. It was curious to read *The Times* leader, heartily approving the letter, and dismissing absolute pacifism as moonshine. Wherein, no doubt, *The Times* and Lord Trenchard agree with Professor Gilbert Murray, who said, later in the same correspondence, that "absolute pacifism need not be practically considered."

The truth, I take it, is that absolute pacifism cannot be "practically considered." It is not a policy in competition with other policies: collective security, or isolation, or alliances. Those are all practical policies. "Isolation means defeat; alliances mean war," says Professor Gilbert Murray. Collective security also means war, say his critics. Certainly, it is hard to see the difference today between collective security and an alliance. If alliance means war, surely collective security does also, in the same sense of "meaning" war.

All "practical" policies of peace mean war, in this sense. There is room for debate—indeed for debate *ad infinitum*—as to which makes for the longest postponement of war. But if, as seems likely, the longer war is postponed the more terrible it will be, it comes to the same thing in the end.

Absolute pacifism is rather like Pascal's famous gamble, turned upside down. He advised men to take to Christianity, to secure themselves in the unknown of after-death. If they were Christian, and Christianity turned out to be a mistake, they would lose nothing. If it were right, they would escape hell. The gamble of pacifism runs differently. Whereas all the practical policies of peace aim at securing for men peace in the known, and end by regretfully informing them that they will have to have war to get it, the impractical policy of absolute pacifism tells men to have peace first in the only place where they are likely to get it—namely, in their own hearts, and see what happens. And if that means, as it very likely would, either that they will be put in a concentration camp, or that England must be over-run by fascists, the simple answer is that either of those things is infinitely better than that they

should deliberately participate in the bestiality of modern war.

There comes a point—and human society has now fairly reached it—when the individual has to assert his own reality once more. Perhaps, as the Marxist socialists say, he has no reality. It is for the individual to discover whether they are right. If he believes in his own reality, it is up to him to prove it. In all probability, being an absolute pacifist won't save him from extinction by mustard gas or a thermite bomb; so it is, at best, a precarious kind of reality he seeks to establish for himself. But history seems to indicate that it is worth establishing; and what history may not prove, his own heart does.

Absolute pacifism is a pure gamble. Nobody who embarks on it can have the faintest idea of what its results will be. If he thinks he has, he deludes himself. It is a plunge clean into the unknown. It is not much use, therefore, for the pacifist to argue with those who think they know. All he can say is that he knows all they know, and knows that it doesn't lead anywhere—except to more war. The paths of knowledge lead but to the grave. One's own grave wouldn't matter so much. But the grave of one's children, of a whole civilization, of the last vestiges of common humanity—that is a different matter. So the individual—this particular one, anyhow—decides that the fact that absolute pacifism need not, and indeed cannot, be "practically considered," is its absolute title to consideration. It is not a policy, but a faith.

And—again to me personally—it seems a very English kind of faith. That may be its weakness; it may also be its strength. The weakness lies in the fact that absolute war-resistance has enjoyed a privileged position in England for many years. It is, indeed, very respectable. Even public school headmasters are polite to it. It has become an institution. But that it should have become an institution means also that it corresponds to some deep-rooted tendency in the English soul. On this side, the Englishman has a trick of being revolutionary: as today he needs to be. When Oliver Cromwell met George Fox, he was by no means certain that George had not the right of it. Probably he hadn't then; but he has today.

Air Raid "Precautions"

FOLLOWING is the text of the resolutions passed at the air raid "precautions" conference reported on page 5.

This conference, composed of representatives of local authorities, peace societies, trade unions, co-operative societies and other organizations, having considered the evidence submitted on the effect of air attack on the civilian population and the proposals at present put forward by the Home Office Air Raid Precautions Department for dealing with such an emergency, condemns the British Government for obstructing the abolition of aerial bombing and for failing to pursue a constructive policy which alone would secure the safety of the population.

Further, this conference is profoundly disturbed by the character of the present Air Raid Precautions Department proposals and cannot support the precautions in their present form since they are not

likely to be effective and not equally available to all classes of the population and could, in their present form, lead to the suppression of civil rights and liberty.

Finally, in view of the widespread public anxiety and misgiving on these schemes, this conference demands that an independent inquiry should be instituted to inquire into the whole question of the defence of the civilian population from air attack.

Further, this conference urges that similar informative conferences should be organized throughout the country, and both Government and independent scientific authorities should be asked to attend so that they may inform public opinion as to the situation; and for this purpose this conference requests the organizing committee to continue its work.

Radio

THEY TELL US WHAT TO EAT, BUT . . . ?

THREE talks have been given on nutrition in the "Toward National Health" series.

Eminent doctors have told us just what we ought to eat and one of them, a medical officer of health in an industrial area, has explained just why millions of us won't follow the advice.

Can't afford it? You've guessed right first time.

Not bad management, not indifference, not ignorance of food values, but poverty, is the cause of malnutrition.

By a process of patient investigation and earnest study this fact, obvious to ordinary folk for a long time, has achieved the status of an official discovery.

This public recognition of the cause of their plight may be some consolation and encouragement to the 4,500,000 people who can spend only 4s. per head per week on food; also to the further 9,000,000 whose weekly food budget cannot exceed 6s.

Now that experts have agreed on the inadequacy of these sums to maintain health, news of the Government's plans to remedy this scandalous state of affairs is eagerly awaited.

We could not expect action before the facts had been officially established or while coronation preparations were still preoccupying the minds of statesmen. But now . . .

Will Mr. Baldwin go down in history as the man who did so much to end this scourge of malnutrition? (No prizes are offered for the answer). Or has the Government done all that reasonably can be expected of it in this matter?

DRINK MORE MILK!

The Nutrition Committee, in its recently published report, urges the increased consumption of milk, at present about half a pint per day per head. According to all the experts it should be much more.

Business firms are able to buy milk at 1½d. per quart for the manufacture

of buttons, as against 7d. per quart charged to ordinary consumers.

Nothing, of course, must be done to jeopardize the supply of buttons. We cannot do without buttons. If buttons need cheap milk they must not be denied.

Now when we come to babies . . . but that is a different story.

The official explanation for the button-makers, preferential treatment is that the milk they buy is surplus after consumers' requirements have been satisfied.

As it is obvious that consumers' requirements are not satisfied, what then?

Suggestions for—

PLAYS YOU CAN PRODUCE

FOR those who are looking for suitable plays for production by peace groups, the following short list gives some useful information.

The figures given in brackets indicate the cast required. No royalty is payable in respect of plays printed in bold type.

Augustus Intervenes. Leslie A. Paul. C. W. Daniel, 46 Bernard Street, London, W.C.1. 1s. 6d. (13m., 2w.) One act costume play suitable for children and churches.

The Devil's Business. A Fenner Brockway. I.L.P. Publication Department, 35 Bride Street, London, E.C.4. 1s. (3m., 2w.) One act.

Humanity Delivered. F. W. Parrott. Friends' Book Centre, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. 4d. (15m., 12w.) Pageant.

Moloch. Winifred Carter. Ye King's Stone Press, 20a Lower Teddington Road, Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey. 2s. 6d. (4m., 4w.) Full length play.

Trojan Women. Gilbert Emery. Allen & Unwin, 40 Museum Street, London, W.C.1. 2s. 6d. (3m., 5w.) Full length play.

These are but a few of the titles contained in an exhaustive list of peace plays and pageants published by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1924 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A., price 10 cents.

SOUND FINANCE

FRANCE, defaulting on its debts, is lending money to Poland for military defence. England, unable to collect previous loans from France, is lending that country an additional \$200,000,000 instead of paying the United States the amount due.

Germany, needing all its resources for rebuilding its navy, has accepted an order for two destroyers from Venezuela, a republic so small that defence is useless.—*The Arbitrator* (U.S.A.).

Chile, following the lead of our own Public Order Bill, has barred the wearing of uniforms by political parties or groups.

Recent Publications

GERMAN LOOKS AT BRITAIN

THE PRICE OF LIBERTY. Adolf Lowe. Hogarth Press. 1s. 6d.

Reviewed by Hedley Smart

READ this pamphlet. Mark it well. Digest it. That advice is the best compliment I can pay to the letter-writing ability of Herr Lowe.

For *The Price of Liberty* was not intended for publication, but was written for the exclusive interest of Herr Paul Tillich, one time Professor of Philosophy at Dresden. Herr



Lowe is a sociologist and an Honorary Research Fellow at Manchester.

He prods our characters and probes our institutions, and thereby does a great deal to help Englishmen to understand themselves. We are slaves to "good form." We have a "stubborn public conscience." We base our morality on the playing fields of Eton.

Yet, according to Herr Lowe, our conception of liberty has a permanent significance for Europe. The real battle between fascism and communism will be fought in this country, and one suggestion Herr Lowe makes is that a kind of Tory-socialism will be the ultimate solution of English political conflicts.

We have never been stirred by the class-consciousness that leads to political extremes. Moreover the idea that the British Labour Party is capable of bringing about socialism is being steadily abandoned by socialists.

But a strong labour public opinion might squeeze some measures of reform from Tory governments. The pill of more advanced social legislation would thus be sugared for the middle-class by letting conservatives do the work.

This is Herr Lowe's conclusion. "The social and spiritual crisis of Western Europe can be overcome only by a new form of spontaneous collectivism." It will encourage pacifists, if only because the basis of their creed is collectivism.

But whether pacifism becomes spontaneous depends, not on how well the pacifist observes English social conventions, but on how well he ignores them.

For pacifists are social rebels. Their lives are guided by Christ. The lives of most Englishmen, according to Herr Lowe, are guided by the man next door.

The Growth of Fascism

FASCISM COMES LIKE THIS . . . J. Hampden Jackson. Peace Pledge Union. 2d.

THE MEANING OF REARMAMENT. Max Plowman. Peace Pledge Union. 2d.

THE first pamphlet is, in the main, a history of fascism in Germany and Italy. The author warns us of the danger of saying that fascism is merely an accident and a passing phase.

He concludes with the assurance that "it will pass, of course; *tout passe*. Mussolini, the wish-fulfilment of a nation that lived off emigrants' savings and tourists' spendings, will pass, and Hitler, the little medium who got in touch with the spirit of Germany, he will pass too."

And he warns us that "fascism has fulfilled long-felt wants." And if we allow similar wants to be felt deeply, and felt for long, then we can hardly hope to avoid an equally awful fulfilment."

The second pamphlet also deals with fascism and says that it "is not a colossus bestriding the Continent and threatening to step across the English Channel, but an insidious infection that grows unobserved in the body politic and then suddenly appears, under some sharp pressure of circumstances, as a full-grown disease."

Max Plowman says that the British form of fascism is already coming into being, "by the mere process of opposing fascism on its own grounds of capitalist aggression."

But, says the pamphlet, if we resist war, we shall destroy fascism, but if we fight fascism, we shall be landed in war.

A special edition of *Which Way to Peace?* by Bertrand Russell has just been issued by Michael Josephs at the very low price of 2s. 6d.

It is thus brought within the reach of nearly all members of the Peace Pledge Union and is available from headquarters, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

WE DIDN'T SAY IT

Private soldiers do not give their lives as easily as dictators make speeches.

Winston Churchill.

No fewer than 3,700 London school-children will be given an opportunity of seeing the procession. What a day for them all to remember! Such organization is true propaganda.

Saturday Review, April 10.

The way to build peace depends upon disarmament of the minds of all people, by building a system in which people have security—not because everyone is armed but because everyone is disarmed.

C. R. Attlee at Stepney Youth Peace Council meeting, April 7.

PACIFISTS MUST KNOW THE GALLOWES

is an expression of fear, hatred and despair—the raw material of war. Every inroad on cruelty strengthens mass resistance to the mass brutalities which threaten. Pacifists should therefore actively support abolition of the death penalty. Particulars and free literature can be had from The Secretary, National Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

"Daddy, What Will You Do In the Next War?"



This?

A PRIZE was offered recently for the best answer to this question. The prize-winner was concise and cynical; his answer ran: "What I'm bloody well told."

Cynicism and heroics are alike out of place in PEACE NEWS. There is a serious problem which needs to be faced. Hundreds of men must be feeling with the writer of the following sentence:

"I, personally, am prepared to go to crucifixion for pacifism, but what I cannot get over is the possible reaction to my children, and my duty, therefore, to them."

It would be difficult to exaggerate the painfulness of the issues involved. The family of the conscientious objector in the next war will undoubtedly be liable to suffer material hardship due to the failure of the breadwinner either to continue his normal employment or to receive the household grants paid to a man prepared to fight.

THE FAMILY INVOLVED

The pacifist who keeps his pledge may well be condemning his young children, who know nothing of what it is all about, to go short not only of comforts but of the sheer necessities of life. These are facts which no one ought lightly to brush aside.

No man with a young family should put his name to the Peace Pledge unless he has faced the terrible responsibility.

Nor is it a question that concerns only potential fighters. It concerns everyone whose choice lies between going unemployed and accepting employment in industries connected with war preparations. Indeed it concerns every pacifist, even if he or she has not the personal problem to settle, for those whose personal problem it is may turn for advice to those whose personal problem it is not. How, for instance, can a parson in Woolwich or on the Clyde advise a young man with children who is hesitating as to whether he can conscientiously accept employment in the arsenal, or in the docks?

Before he answers let him put himself in the place of the man's wife who realizes what it means to bring up a family on a bare minimum of out-relief.

The wise pacifist will surely go no farther than Fox when he was asked by Penn whether he could continue wearing his sword after his conversion. "Wear it," he said, "as long as thou canst."

But how long will that be? The Englishman who yields, against his conviction, to the war system for the sake of the children playing on his own hearth must blind himself to the children whom the war system will condemn to sufferings far worse than any that his own children are likely to endure if he resists the pressure put on him to work in dock or arsenal.

If the Italian women whose husbands dropped the bombs on Abyssinia could have seen the effects of those bombs, would they have cheered the war and welcomed home the heroes?

Perhaps there is something to be said for the cynic who won his guinea with his epigram. He has helped to make the issue clear for the hesitating pacifist.

Unless the pacifist renounces war whole-heartedly he will be caught up in the militarist machine. There will be no alternative to doing "what he's bloody well told," and doing that will mean sharing in the murder of other people's children who are as innocent as his own.

"Bloody" in this context is no mere swear-word, but a plain statement of fact that should help him to see things as they are.

MAN AND THE SYSTEM

Nobody, however, should dare to condemn the pacifist whose courage fails him when he is faced by certain present injury to his own children as against possible future injury (of a far worse kind) to other people's. If he chooses the short way out of his dilemma, we must blame the inhuman system in which we have acquiesced rather than the human parent whom it exploits.

If we acquiesce in a state of things which makes it possible for the question in our title to be put, we are acquiescing in the cynic's answer, for no citizen can be wholly independent when his country is at war. He will not be able to jump into immunity from the shadow at his feet.

If the world goes on as it is going the question will not be avoidable, nor will it be answerable except with the cynic's answer. Only if people take the way of the Peace Pledge Union will the question not have to be answered, because it will not have to be put.

SUSAN MILES

SEEK WAR'S CAUSES

A nation is—or thinks it is—denied its share in the world's good things, and accordingly prepares itself to seize them. The other nations have been working together to prevent war or at least to defer the arbitrament of war, and not without success.

But if their cooperation is to be really constructive they must go farther. They must understand the contents which are the seeds of war and agree to create conditions in which they can be satisfied.—Bishop of Liverpool.

"NEVER FELT MORE OF A PACIFIST"

—Air Raid Precautions Officer

From a Correspondent

"I HAVE never felt more of a pacifist than I do now. It is a perfectly legitimate idea on the part of every foreign general staff to attack London. No general staff would seriously, should the call arise, forego trying to interrupt the organization of this great city."

These are not the words of an avowed P.P.U. propagandist, but were spoken by Major MacRoberts, Air Raid Precautions Officer for the Borough of St. Pancras, at a public meeting arranged by the local peace council to consider the Government's "precautions." The meeting, held in Youth House, London, N.W.1, last week, passed without dissent a resolution condemning the plans.

NO PROTECTION AGAINST BOMBS

"There is nothing in London to protect us against high explosives," continued Major MacRoberts. Some people had the idea of using the tubes. That would not be allowed.

"The tubes will not be available for the population in the event of any real attack. In the first place the tubes of London cannot be made gas proof. Proper ventilation is impossible and you will descend only to be suffocated."

The Government wanted people to stay quietly in their gas—"proof" chambers where they

What War Means

I SPOKE in Hyde Park that same evening. People were realizing the gravity of the situation now, and they listened in intent silence while I pledged myself to do everything possible to oppose war. I urged that the workers of the world should unite to defeat the war-makers.

Suddenly the high-pitched voice of a woman cut across the meeting: "Are we to wait till the Germans murder us in our beds?"

A quiver passed through the crowd as if a field of corn were shaken by the wind. It was the beginning of war panic.

A few days later war was declared.—R. M. Fox in *Smoky Crusade*. (Hogarth Press, 10s. 6d.)

would be much safer than in the streets. Out of doors one could not protect oneself against flying pieces of metal. Indoors, it was suggested, protection against thermite bombs might be afforded by covering the attic floor with a layer of sand.

Of the Cambridge scientists' report he said, "I do wish these Cambridge scientists had been more constructive in their suggestions. The report is interesting; it may do a lot of good."

Mr. Titmus, of the National Peace Council, said the A.R.P. department first issued its pronouncements to the local authorities in July, 1935, but they had not yet decided who was to bear the cost of the plans.

Speaking of the masks he said, "I want to know if they will protect us from Lewisite or recent American and German discoveries. It seems that

the War Office, as usual, is getting ready for the next war in the terms of the last."

HOW TO DEAL WITH A TYRANNY

HE who so plays the master over you has but two hands, has but two eyes, has but one body, has nothing more than the least among the vast number who dwell in our cities; nothing has he better than you, save the advantage that you give him, that he may ruin you.

Whence has he so many eyes to watch you, but that you give them to him? How has he so many hands to strike you, but that he employs your own?

How does he come by the feet which trample on your cities, but by your means? How can he have any power over you, but what you give him?

How could he venture to persecute you, if he had not an understanding with yourselves? What harm could he do you, if you were not receivers of the robber who plunders you, accomplices of the murderer who kills you, and traitors to your own selves?

You sow the fruits of the earth, that he may waste them; you furnish your houses, that he may pillage them; you rear your daughters, that he may glut his wantonness, and your sons, that he may send them to execution, or make them the instruments of his concupiscence, the ministers of his revenge.

You exhaust your bodies with labour, that he may revel in luxury, or wallow in base and vile pleasures; you weaken yourselves, that he may become more strong, and better able to hold you in check.

And yet from so many indignities, (that the beasts themselves, could they be conscious of them, would not endure) you may deliver yourselves, if you but make an effort, not to deliver yourselves, but to show the will to do it.

Once resolve to be no longer slaves, and you are already free. I do not say that you should assail him; merely support him no longer, and you will see that he will fall by his own weight, and break to pieces.—*The Tyranny of the War-maker*, by Stephen de la Boetie, a writer of the sixteenth century, friend of Montaigne.

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"Dear Sir....."

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

RUSSIA

IT is a pity that Wilfred Wellock shows such bias toward Russia in PEACE NEWS for March 27.

Russia, or at least the Bolsheviks, has been at war ever since the Revolution of 1917, if not with the whites then among their so-called comrades the first of the Bolsheviks.

My old friend Wilfred Wellock suggests that, "there must be millions of Germans today . . . who are enduring unspeakable agony and awaiting a suitable opportunity to get rid of their oppression." There is no doubt of this, but does it not equally apply to Russia?

Perhaps, if the true facts were known, even more so. What news is there of pacifists in Russia? This in a land loved by Tolstoy.

E. H. CLOGG.

243 Holdenhurst Road,
Bournemouth.

How to Become a Blood Donor

With reference to Mr. Spreckley's suggestion that pacifists should serve as blood donors, this is an excellent idea, and as a donor I can assure prospective donors that there is nothing heroic or painful in the process at all.

First of all you must get in touch with the secretary of the Blood Transfusion Service of the British Red Cross Society at 5 Colyton Road, S.E.22.

They will put you in touch with Dr. Brewer at Bart's Hospital—if you are in London, or other doctors elsewhere, who will test you for suitability and see to which blood group you belong.

When that is done you will be enrolled in the Service and then it's up to you what use you make of your services. But you will not be required more often than once in every three months.

L. M. LARKINS.

Pelican Hill,
St. Ives, Cornwall.

Garcia Morales

Your special correspondent in Spain ventures to question the accuracy of my remarks concerning Garcia Morales, and bases his refutation on the opinions expressed by cultured Spaniards.

In a telegram dated November 16, 1936, Monsignor Henson, Rector of the English College at Valladolid, says that Garcia Morales has no authority whatsoever to celebrate Mass.

FRANK C. TOWNSEND.

129 Carlton Road,
London, N.W.5.

A Fund of Mercy for Ethiopia has been started by Dr. A. W. C. Martin, Ethiopian Minister in London, to aid Ethiopian refugees, mostly in the Sudan and in Uganda.

PACIFISM AND POLITICS

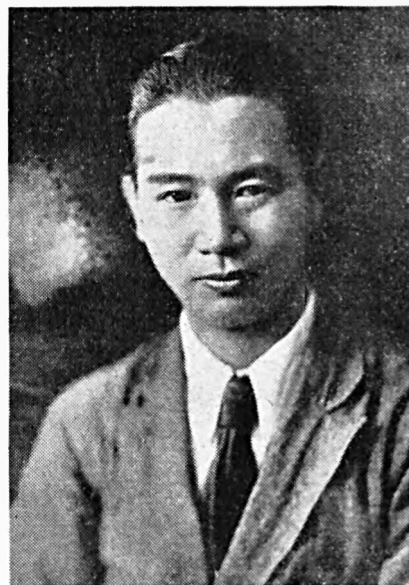
RUSSELL BENTLEY has made the usual mistake and confused politics with political parties.

Pacifists should be interested in politics i.e. the science of government, but not in the manoeuvres of political parties seeking to get what they can for their sections of the community out of the machinery and opportunity of government. This latter is war just as the everlasting war of the young and old newspaper seller.

Russell Bentley says "A party has to plan not only foreign policy but every department of the national life; and on all but foreign policy we agree with other socialists." Do we? I think not.

The pacifist must seek justice and right equally to all, not first to the worker or the capitalist—equally to all.

Kagawa of Japan more than our political parties is the model we pacifists need to learn more of alongside Gregg and Heard. Our movement has a political aspect, but this will be served by Kagawa's method



"Kagawa, a model for pacifists"

much more effectively than by the party politician.

CHAS. H. HAWORTH.

36 Barnet Grove,
Bethnal Green, E.2.

MONASTICISM

Russell Bentley in PEACE NEWS for March 17 says "the formation of a brotherhood or monastic order (Mr. Gerald Heard's ideal) is not enough." Gerald Heard is at present in America.

May I point out that he has never, so far as I am aware (and I have consulted a number of others who know his writings and addresses) suggested the formation of a monastic order?

He does, indeed, advocate an "order" of men and women trained spiritually and physically in active pacifism—but these men and women, both by reason of the kind of work they will do and the numbers needed, can hardly be members of a monastic body.

In any case, membership of such an "order" would not exclude political work—rather, such work would definitely be undertaken (see *What are You Going to Do About It?* No. 2).

PEGGY SMITH.

2 St. Edmund's Terrace,
London, N.W.8.

Labels

The task of the P.P.U. and its members is, surely, to win over to the cause of constructive pacifism men and women of all parties and all creeds and we shall seriously prejudice our hopes of success if we commence by attaching to ourselves political labels, whether of the "Right," "Centre," or "Left."

ALAN C. BAKER.

"Roseheath,"
Woodville Road,
New Barnet.

ALL BUT!

Mr. Bentley says that the notion of a Pacifist Party is absurd, and gives in support of this dogmatic assertion the equally dogmatic and remarkable assertion that—"in all but foreign policy we agree with other socialists."

Does he really believe foreign policy to be of so little importance that it can be dismissed with an "all but?" Is not foreign policy rather of vital moment to pacifists?

Further, many pacifists will certainly not admit that they agree with "other socialists" (by which I suppose he means the Labour Party and the I.L.P.).

I for one am very sceptical of the ability of these parties to organize this country on socialistic lines when they show so little of the real spirit of "equality and brotherhood," both in their attitude to other nations of different political views, and if I may add this, to each other!

RAYMOND SPURGEON.

33 Dymond Road,
Coventry.

DUTY?

In my opinion, it is the duty of every pacifist to support a true socialist movement as it is the only political creed compatible with pacifist ideals.

Official Labour has betrayed the trust it holds from the workers to whom it owes its existence, and is, at present, no more than a feeble brake on the National Government. Needless to say it does not approve of the Unity Campaign, nor do the trade unions.

R. P. SHAW.

Dilun,
Molton Road,
Queen's Drive,
Liverpool, 16.

"TORY SOCIALISM"

SOCIALISTS have tacked on a spurious internationalism to their economic doctrines. It is this which is a peril to mankind.

Riding roughshod in the approved romantic manner over the peculiar and highly differentiated characteristics of sets and types of men they ignore the profound truth that each nation has a mission in the providential order.

The correlation of each mission is a matter of the most critical adjustment, and is indeed one of the most delicate of sociological problems. Each nation, particularly if it be a nation without any imperialistic notions, has its own special culture which cannot grow in foreign soil.

France for example had a particular military culture which Frederick the Great borrowed. It took quite another shape in Prussia. When this country conquered India, India began to conquer us. The result is a hotch potch of stuff called theosophy.

Our internationalism has not helped us to recover our own special humanisms but it has caused us to copy wildly those of other nations. The cultivation of our own gardens is imperative.

If we continue to miscegenize our culture, trample down the local prejudice, and the flowers of national

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Told Your M.P.
YOU
Want that
WORLD
CONFERENCE**

memory and long tended culture, we shall not succeed either in establishing even the prerequisites of peace.

Attack the so called capitalist system, and a traditional Tory will exceed you in the extent of criticism and the vehemence of denunciation.

Attack the modern evils so patently meriting destruction, and he will support you. But the Tory is resolved firmly not to allow the baby to go down the plug hole.

The secret of memory, the pride of race, the normalcy of private property, at its best when well diffused so that there is, as in Ireland and in Poland, hardly a propertyless proletariat, and the preservation of an unsullied land with its customs and foibles are valuable, and must not go.

I am a pacifist because I am a Tory. The modern world is an offence to the Tory.

HENRY EDWARDS.

92 Grandison Road,
Clapham Common.

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PEACE NEWS
EARLY**

Parliament

OPPOSITION PLEASSED
AT TAX ON
PROFITS

THOUGH the principles underlying the Budget must be heartily deprecated, one of the methods they have devised to balance it is to be commended.

The interesting and, at least in peace time, novel excess profits tax which was announced by Mr. Chamberlain in his budget speech last week will operate on trades and businesses making profits of more than £2,000 in accounting years ending after April 5, 1937.

The tax will be graduated, at rates not exceeding one-third of the growth of profits, and is expected to yield £2,000,000 this year and £20,000,000 in a full year.

"UTMOST DISPLAY"

The Opposition was, in the main, in favour of the proposal, but as Mr. Pethick Lawrence, in his reply to Mr. Chamberlain's speech, pointed out "it was quite clear that it had been greeted with the utmost dismay by the followers of the Chancellor."

There is, however, criticism concerning the details of the proposal, but critics are anxious that the scheme shall be watertight and fair all round.

Some have expressed the view that the tax should only operate on armament profits, and others have pointed out the possibility that firms may use surplus profits in the re-equipping and modernization of plant.

Anxiety was expressed that the tax laid itself open to evasions. The proposal has the appearance of being part of a "unity campaign" by the Government, an attempt to gain the sympathies of the people.

In his presidential address to the Federation of British Industries last week, Lord Hirst said that Mr. Chamberlain had chosen a simple and fair method by which he could obtain the money which the country required.

WOMEN AND PEACE

Just as women had played an enormous part in the recruiting campaign during the War, so also could they play an enormous part in the work for peace, said Mrs. Elizabeth Muter Wilson at a meeting in Cheadle last week arranged by the Peace Pledge Union.

Canon Morris spoke of the progress of the P.P.U. and said that signatures were coming in at the rate of 3,000 monthly. Women, he continued, were now playing their part and making their influence felt in the movement.

The City peace group are now to have a new headquarters. It will be inaugurated by Canon Sheppard next Tuesday.

The first floor of 13 Paternoster Row, London, E.C.4, has been placed at their disposal.

A protest against the attitude of the fascists in Germany, Italy, and Danzig who believe that "the study of the Bible leads to communism" has been made by the president of the International Association for the study of the Bible.

Too Dear—and
Too Cheap!

MR. STOKES, an interview with whom was published in PEACE NEWS for April 3, made a statement that "it needs but elementary mathematics to calculate that if the Government decided to limit the profits on armaments to six percent there would be no need for the threepence increase on income tax or the National Defence Contribution.

In a letter to *The Times* he answers Sir Victor Warrender's declaration in the House of Commons last week that the shells tender put in by Ransomes and Rapier was too low by saying that it might be in the public interest to state that the figure included a 5 percent margin for rejections and a ten percent overall contingency allowance. He further points out that on March 24 Sir V. Warrender declared that one of the reasons why the offer was not accepted was that the price was too high.

Sir Thomas Inskip in a letter written to Mr. Johnston, who examined documents regarding this offer at the War Office, said that the estimates were too low and the shells would cost much more than the firm anticipated.

It seems strange that the War Office should show so great a concern as this in the affairs of a business firm.

Manchester Convention:

What They Decided

THE text of the resolutions and amendments moved at the pacifist convention held at Manchester last week-end (a report of which appears on page 1) was as follows:—

Resolution 1: Renunciation of War. This convention believes that the method of war can never bring lasting peace and security. War is a crime against humanity and, to the Christian pacifist, a sin against God. It can never be justified whether conducted by a section of a nation, by a nation as a whole, by an alliance of nations, or by the League of Nations.

It, therefore, declares that it is the right of every citizen to renounce all participation in and preparation for war.

(Proposed by Canon H. R. L. Sheppard and seconded by Alderman G. F. Titt.)

Resolution 2: New World Conference. This convention calls upon the British Government to summon, or to associate with President Roosevelt in summoning, a new world conference at which the economic and territorial grievances of nations may be examined, discussed, and settled by mutual adjustment, if necessary by definite sacrifices on the part of those nations which, like our own, control a large proportion of the natural resources of the earth.

It declares also in favour of the organization of the world's supply and

exchange of raw materials and food-stuffs, on the basis of the equal rights of all nations, in place of the present trade restrictions.

(Proposed by Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P., and seconded by H. G. McGhee, M.P.)

Resolution 3: Strengthening the League of Nations. The convention declares that the League of Nations should be transformed and strengthened by:

- Founding the authority of the League on the moral influence of world public opinion rather than upon the armed coercion of "collective security" or of "an international police force";
- Extending the League's powers of conciliation, and of securing treaty revision and agreed territorial change;
- Applying the principle of international control to all undeveloped areas; and educating and training primitive peoples with a view to their self-government;
- Devising a system of controlling international land, sea, and air routes;
- Establishing international machinery for a planned world production and supply;
- Enlarging the present humanitarian activities of the League.

(Proposed by the Rev. Henry Carter and seconded by Mrs. Eleanor Barton.)

Resolution 4: Disarmament and Military Commitments.

This convention, realizing that security is unattainable by means of so-called defensive armaments and air raid precautions, calls upon the Government to introduce to a world conference a proposal for total disarmament; and failing agreement on such a measure, the convention considers that Great Britain should proceed to disarmament by example.

The convention further declares that it is the duty of the Government to give notice forthwith to terminate all treaties and commitments with other Powers which might require this country to take part in military, naval, or air force operations of any kind.

(Proposed by Lord Arnold and seconded by Miss Vera Brittain.)

The following amendment to resolution 4, submitted by the Marple branch of the Peace Pledge Union, was accepted and unconditionally drafted into the resolution:—

Furthermore it is essential that no treaty between this country and a foreign Power be considered valid until it has been tabled in the House of Commons and received the assent of the House after a full discussion.

The Coventry branch of the Christian Pacifist Party, asked the convention, "realizing . . . that a democratically elected government cannot be expected to sponsor a proposal for total disarmament which has not been approved by the electors," to express, in a second amendment,

"its determination to form a political party charged with the duty of working in the country and in Parliament for total unilateral disarmament and the full application of pacifist principles in national and international life."

This amendment, however, was defeated by a narrow margin.

Resolution 5: Conscription. That

(Continued in col. 4, page 12)

"PART OF MILITARY
MACHINE"

"Precautions" Are Not Defence

From Our Own Correspondents

AIR raid "precautions" were considered at one of the sessions of a conference convened by Hendon Peace Council on Saturday. Following addresses by Dr. A. F. W. Hughes (Cambridge Scientists' Group), and B. Whitlow (Air Disarmament Committee), the following resolution was carried:—

This conference considers that the government scheme of air raid precautions should be renounced as affording no real security to the whole population, inasmuch as the measures it proposes—ostensibly as "defensive"—are in reality another link in the chain of fear and misunderstanding which tends to make war possible.

The conference is not prepared to associate itself with the Air Raid Precautions Department of the Home Office, as it considers that this department is not organized purely for passive defence of the civilian population but is a part of the military machine. The conference also considers that the Government should take active steps to eliminate the air menace by international action.

FORBIDDEN FRUIT!

The official lecturer at an air raid "precautions" exhibition in New Oxford Street, W.C., this week, warned his hearers to take no notice of leaflets which were being distributed out-

side by members of the W.C.1 group of the Peace Pledge Union.

As a result several visitors came and asked for "this leaflet we aren't supposed to see," inquired about the aims and composition of the P.P.U., and showed considerable interest. One signed a pledge card on the spot.

Leaflets issued by the St. Marylebone Peace Council were also distributed last week outside an exhibition in Hampstead Central Library, where a lecturer, Wing Commander Steele Perkins, made the amazing statement that if any enemy knew we were taking precautions against gas in this country they would probably not use it.

He added that in any case the Government would arrange to give the local authority two or three days' notice prior to the possibility of a gas raid. The Government, it is presumed, will receive official advice from the enemy!

Plans have been adopted by the Ministry of Industry in Spain for the multiplying by ten of the 1,300,000 bee hives in the country, so that honey can replace sugar of which there may be a shortage.

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LECTURE

MODERN CULTURE INSTITUTE. Dr. Har Dayal, M.A., PH.D., will speak next Wednesday at 8 p.m. at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on "World Economic Problems." Free.

LITERARY

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MEETINGS

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union). A Fellowship Hour, for communion with God and each other, led by Rev. Alan Balding, is being held the third Monday in each month, at 165 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1, the third Monday in May being Whit, the time and date will be changed to Monday, May 24, from 6 to 7 p.m.

"SI VIS PACEM PARA PACEM"
"LIBERTY AND FRATERNITY"
"ACTA NON VERBA"

Addresses given on above subjects Sundays, 11 a.m., Lindsey Hall, Notting Hill Gate. All welcome.

PEACE PROBLEMS study group will meet on Tuesday, May 4, at 8 p.m. at Conway Hall (North Room), Red Lion Square, Holborn. Mr. Aldous Huxley's pamphlets will be discussed. All welcome.

POSTERS

PEACE POSTERS for the times. Samples on application to the Secretary, Northern Friends' Peace Board, Spring Bank, Rawdon, near Leeds.

PERSONAL

MISS L. GENTRY and K. Coles of 2 Tancred Road, Harringay, N.4 (members of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields) would like young Church of England members (18-30) in their district, interested in the work for peace, to communicate with them at the above address.

SERVICE

WESAK—SERVICE, Sunday, May 9, 7 p.m., Buddhist Mission, 18 Colquitt Street, Liverpool.—"The story of the Buddha."

TYPEWRITING

THE SOUTH LONDON TYPEWRITING BUREAU (Mabel L. Eyles), 51 Ruskin Walk, Herne Hill, S.E.24. Telephone Brixton 2863. Duplicating, typewriting, private shorthand lessons, speed practice, &c. Prices on application.

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DIARY OF THE WEEK

May

2 (Sun.) 11 a.m. & 6.30 p.m. Marine Parade, **SOUTHEND**; Sir Robert Young and Nigel Spottiswoode at May Day demonstration; Southend Labour Party.

8.15 p.m. Richmond Hill Congregational Church, **BOURNEMOUTH**; Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard, Canon Stuart Morris, & Thomas Southall at public meeting; P.P.U.

3 (Mon.) 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Park Lane, **CROYDON**; Canon Stuart Morris at annual meeting of Croydon Regional Committee; P.P.U.

8 p.m. Large Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, **LONDON, E.C.4**; V. K. Krishna Menon on "Indian Awakening"; tickets from India League, 165 Strand, London, W.C.2.

4 (Tues.) 1 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row, **LONDON, E.C.4**; inauguration by Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard of the City peace group's new headquarters; City peace group.

8 p.m. King's Weigh House, club entrance, Thomas Street, **LONDON, W.1**; Canon Morris on "Democratization" at London group leaders' meeting; P.P.U.

8 p.m. Conway Hall (North Room), Red Lion Square, **HOLBORN**; public discussion of Aldous Huxley's pamphlets; Peace Problems Study Group.

TEACHERS HEAR ABOUT PACIFISM

A meeting of over 800 teachers listened to an address on "Patriotism in the Schools" given by Lord Ponsonby in Exeter on Saturday, during the refresher course of the Devon County Association of Teachers.

Judging by the applause there cannot have been many in the audience who disagreed with the views expressed.

Unusual passion and energy was displayed by Dr. Eltz, a member of the team of young Czechs who are touring England, when speaking to a large audience at a meeting arranged by League of Nations Union in Monmouth last week.

5 (Wed.) 7.45 p.m. The Library, Church Street, **STOKE NEWINGTON**; Thomas Southall and Rev. W. W. Simpson at public meeting against rearmament; P.P.U.

8 p.m. Caxton Hall, **WESTMINSTER**; Dr. Har Dayal on "World economic problems"; Modern Culture Institute.

6 (Thurs.) 1.20 to 2 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road, **LONDON, N.W.1**; George Lansbury on "My visit to Hitler"; Peace Committee of London Friends.

8 (Sat.) 7.30 p.m. Holy Trinity Church Hall, Granville Road, **HORNSEY**; public debate on the motion "that the Christian way of life provides the only sure foundation for personal liberty and the establishment of peace for the community and the world." For, Rev. Leslie Artingstall; Against, Miss Magda Gellen; F.o.R.

CHILDREN IN PEACE PROCESSION

One of the most effective tableaux in the Southend peace procession which took place on Saturday included groups of children, showing them playing in peace time, then marching in black clothes with dummy gas masks. Wide comment was aroused among the watching crowds at the inclusion of the children.

The procession, in which the Southend Peace Council and its affiliated bodies took part, marched through the streets of the town to the sea front, to the music provided by a poster-covered loud-speaker van from which frequent announcements were also made.

At the sea front the procession halted and the marchers for peace and other onlookers heard Dr. Eltz of Czechoslovakia speak.

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this convention expresses its resolute and unalterable opposition to conscription, universal military service, or compulsory training and declares its determination to support those who feel a conscientious moral conviction to take no part in war or the preparations for war.

(Proposed by Fred Messer, M.P., and seconded by Cecil H. Wilson, M.P.)

The following addition, proposed by the Heaton Moor branch of the Peace Pledge Union, was added to resolution 5, which was carried unanimously:—

Incitement to Disaffection Act.—That this convention demands the immediate repeal of the Incitement to Disaffection Act, considering it a gross infraction of the liberties of the subject.

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